1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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rally makes them wish to know what is good and what is bad. This the parent teaches him in his own way, that is to say, in the way in which he was himself taught by his own parents. It is not the lesson of an hour nor of a day, it is rather a long course more of practical than of theoretical instruction, a lesson, which is not repeated at stated seasons or times, but which is shewn, pointed out, and demonstrated to the child, not only by those under whose immediate guardianship he is, but by the whole community, who consider themselves alike interested in the direction to be given to the rising generation.

When this instruction is given in the form of precepts, it must not be supposed that it is done in an authoritative or forbidding tone, but, on the contrary, in the gentlest and most persuasive manner: nor is the parent's authority ever supported by harsh or compulsive means; no whips, no punisments, no threats are even used to enforce commands or compel obedience. The child's *pride* is the feeling to which an appeal is made, which proves successful in almost every instance. A father needs only to say in the presence of his children: "I want such a "thing done; I want one of my children to go upon such "an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do "it!" This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent. If a father sees an old decrepid man or woman pass by, led along by a child, he will draw the attention of his own children to the object by saying: "What a *good* child that must be, "which pays such attention to the aged! That child, "indeed, looks forward to the time when it will likewise "be old!" or he will say, "May the great Spirit, who "looks upon him, grant this *good* child a long life!"

In this manner of bringing up children, the parents, as I have already said, are seconded by the whole community. If a child is sent from his father's dwelling to

1;Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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867 carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the
888 house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! has the *Tortoise*, or the *little Bear* (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be. And so, in most in-
867 stances, this method is resorted to, for the purpose of instructing children in things that are good, proper, or honourable in themselves; while, on the other hand, when a child has committed a *bad* act, the parent will say to him: "O! how grieved I am that my child has done
[861] "this *bad* act! I hope he will never do so again." This is generally effectual, particularly if said in the presence of others. The whole of the Indian plan of education tends to elevate rather than depress the mind, and by that means to make determined hunters and fearless warriors.

868 Thus, when a lad has killed his first game, such as a deer or a bear, parents who have boys growing up will not fail to say to some person in the presence of their own children: "That boy must have listened attentively "to the aged hunters, for, though young, he has alrea-"dy given a proof that he will become a good hunter "himself." If, on the other hand, a young man should fail of giving such a proof, it will be said of him "that "he did not pay attention to the discourses of the aged."

In this indirect manner is instruction on all subjects given to the young people. They are to learn the arts of hunting, trapping, and making war, by listening to the aged when conversing together on those subjects, each, in his turn, relating how he acted, and opportunities are afforded to them for that purpose. By this mode of instructing youth, their respect for the aged is kept alive,

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Bucks-horn, or the like."[27] In everyday life kinship terms were used rather than personal names.[28] Denton also said:

> Any Indian being dead, his name dies with him, no person daring ever after to mention his name, it being not only a breach of their Law, but an abuse to his friends & relations present, as if it were done on purpose to renew their grief: And any other person whatsoever that is named after that name doth incontinently change his name & takes a new one.[29]

Education and Training of Children

Children were nursed until they were three or four years old, but were increasingly fed meat and other specially prepared foods. Holm said they were taught to walk when they were nine months old.[30] When boys were four or five years old, they were given their first instruction in hunting, warfare, and woodcraft, as well as in other phases of a man's life.[31] Girls at the same age were initiated into the duties of housekeeping and the planting and cultivating of gardens. Old people, particularly grandparents, played an important role in instructing the children in tradition, religion, and correct behavior (O.A., N.D.). According to Trowbridge, men took upon themselves the duty of instructing the young of their phratry.[32] The earlier documents are silent on these points, but there seems to be no reason why these more modern data do not represent the customs of a former period.

In earlier times physical punishment was seldom if ever used on the children; explanation, ridicule, exhortation, and threats took its place.[33] Obedience was sometimes enforced by threats of punishment by the Mask Being. If a child was slow to rise in the morning, for instance, the recalcitrant one was told that this supernatural creature would visit him and poke him with a stick (N.D.). It was also believed that the supernatural powers punished disobedient children by causing them to become weak and sickly (N.D.). The myth of a great, naked bear was frequently used, since disobedient children were said to be its particular victims.[34] Children were described as being well behaved; a captive brought up by the Delawares said that "honesty, bravery and hospitality are cardinal virtues with them... Their young, in a remarkable degree, reverence and honor the aged, especially their parents."[35] Not only were the old respected, but game and various other presents were often given to them.[36]

As children grew older, the boys in particular were more and more exposed to a toughening program. Training was one of increasing hardship, up to and including the puberty rituals. Children were forced to

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[27] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[28] Trowbridge MS.
[29] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[30] Holm, 1834, p. 127.
[31] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 202; Harrington, 1913, p. 213; Trowbridge MS.
[32] Trowbridge MS.
[33] Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 81.
[34] Heckewelder, 1799, pp. 260-62.
[35] Brickell, 1842, p. 48.
[36] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 76.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The children have entirely their own will and never do anything by compulsion. Told to do something they do not care about, the children let it go by default and are not reprimanded for it. Yet many wellbred children are found among them who pay great attention and respect to parents and do things to please them. They are courteous, even to strangers. They respond to mild treatment. The contrary generally produces bitterness, hatred and contempt. The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water. The parents are careful not to beat their children, lest the children might remember it and revenge themselves on some future occasion. Instances are not wanting where children when grown have reproached their parents for corporal punishment received in youth and have threatened to return the indignity.

Rarely does an Indian have two or more wives, being fearful of strife in the house. Blood relations do not marry; in this particular they are even more strict than the whites. They claim that division of the race into tribes came about in order to make it more readily certain that a man in taking a wife was not marrying a near relative. Concerning the tribes, however, more will be said in another connection. An instance of an Indian having married a mother and her daughter at the same time was a most extraordinary thing.

Families have from four to six children. More than this number is unusual. Birth of twins is rarely heard of. In many cases children who have become motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

In the management of household affairs the husband leaves

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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nations. By such a commission an accession of honor and respect is acquired by the captain. So soon as he gives up the tomahawk, his men must cease from hostile acts and demonstrations. 728

The rank of captain is neither elective nor hereditary. First intimation of this honor comes usually in a dream, early in life, one or another having seen a buffalo, a bear or other ferocious animal, or he has seen in a vision an Indian who spoke with him and gave him the necessary gifts. Such a dream is pondered over and related to friends and usually interpreted as destiny for the office of Captain. The dreamer's imagination leads him to believe that nothing may injure him and that no bullet can harm him. He, therefore, endeavors to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity and prove his powers for he must be tested, as will appear presently. Occasionally, boys are prepared and instructed for this position. These are given little to eat, are made to fast often and long, so that their bodies become emaciated, their minds deranged and their dreams wild and extravagant. Frequent questions are put to them when in this condition as to the dreams they have had. So long as they have not dreamt or not dreamt the right thing, the process is continued until they have been reduced to skin and bones, when they usually have or pretend to have a fantastic dream, declared to be ominous. The subject being minutely considered and interpreted by their teachers, they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. By virtue of these extraordinary revelations they become physicians, great hunters, rich men, *Mantewits*, that is, sorcerers, or captains. The impression thus made on their minds is lasting, and as they grow older they earnestly strive to fulfill their destination, believing themselves to be men of peculiar gifts, far in advance of the others. It is not enough to profess to be destined for the dignity of a captain. The claim must be made good. The candidate must be resolute, brave, fearless, even in greatest danger. If a leader, who has not the rank of captain, has the good fortune not to lose a man of his troop in six or seven engagements and to bring scalps and prisoners to the camp, he is recognized and honored as a captain forthwith. If he loses 624 787 861 624

302 also considered a mark of beauty (Lindstrom, pp. 193, 194, and 196; Pastorius, 1698, p. 433).

The Delaware women had the distinctive custom of wearing their hair in a large bun at the back rather than in braids. Men plucked all body hair and that of the head except for one tuft which was allowed to grow long (Smith, p. 137; Harrington, 1913, p. 220; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384; Lindstrom, pp. 195 and 200). Men were 301 permitted to tattoo themselves as marks of distinction, the designs 304 suggesting the deed which they commemorated. The operation was performed by breaking the skin in the desired pattern with a flint knife or sharp fish tooth. When the blood had been drawn, a powder of burned poplar bark was laid in the wound. Apparently the tattoo lasted a lifetime (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 206).

291 Children were allowed to go about with little or no clothing until 302 eight or ten years of age, being protected from the sun by a liberal coating of bear grease (Johnson, p. 280; Pastorius, 1700, p. 384).

Family Organization and Customs

843 Starting at the beginning of life, we find that the birth process was accompanied by certain special customs. Penn says that "...when with Child, they [the women] know their Husbands no more, till delivered..." (Penn, p. 33). Harrington tells us that a prospective father who had bad luck at hunting attributed it to the spirit of his child playing about and scaring the game away. He would accordingly wear a miniature bow and arrow to keep the child's spirit amused while he hunted, or if this did not work he would try a small mortar and pestle assuming that the baby was a girl (1913, p. 212).

844 Birth itself occurred in the small hut which was also used during menstrual periods. The child was immediately immersed in water, then [841] wrapped in a skin and bound to a cradle board. This was softened with a moss covering and had curved side pieces. The child stayed in the cradleboard most of the time until it could walk (Pastorius, 1698, 854 p.434; Penn, pp.29-30; Lindstrom, p.201). Then, when it had to be 482 carried, it was placed in a blanket and carried on the mother's back (Lindstrom, p.201).

861 Almost all of the writers were impressed with the quiet and respectful behavior of Delaware children. Only later writers, however, had much to say about the means used to educate them. These writers noted that children, especially the boys, seldom were punished (Brickell, p.47; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86). Brickell, who was brought up by a Delaware family, says that honesty, bravery and hospitality were cardinal virtues with them and that much of the training received was directed toward developing these virtues [862] (pp.47-48). Also, of course, boys were taught woodcraft, fishing and hunting, and girls were taught the household duties including the care of the younger children.

the care of the younger children. Although physical punishment was seldom resorted to, exhortation and explanation were commonly used. One mythical story which was evidently used as a threat was that of the great naked bear. This was a creature, larger than most bears and naked except for a white spot. The only way to kill it was to break its back as its heart was so small that an arrow would seldom find it. The last of the species was reputed to have been killed on the east side of the Hudson River, but before that time it was said that recalcitrant children were particularly likely to be its victims (Heckewelder, 1799, pp.260-62). 861

A boy's life was not burdened with many chores until he was twelve or older, his time being spent in fishing and playing (Penn, p.30; Pastorius, 1698, p.434; Zeisberger, 1870, p.86; Harrington, 1913, p.213). When he reached this age, it was desirable for him to have a vision and receive a guardian spirit (Lindstrom, p.207). To promote this, the parents mistreated him, fed him sparingly and finally drove him into the woods. It was felt that this would cause a spirit to feel sorry for the boy and present itself to him.9 The nature of the vision which a youth had was sometimes taken as a sign of his future profession, and training in such a case would start immediately to prepare the boy to become a shaman or warrior as the case might be (Harrington, 1913, pp. 214-15; Zeisberger, 1910, p.101). At about fifteen the boys began hunting and at this they had to become proficient before considering marriage. 857 787 582

The girls stayed with their mothers and began helping to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burdens as soon as they were able (Penn, p.30; Zeisberger, 1870, p.87). At a girl's first menstruation she went to a small hut some distance from the house where she stayed at least seven days. Here meals were brought to her by her mother or an old woman-friend, but she could not be touched. She used a sharpened stick in eating to prevent the food from touching her hands. At the end of her seclusion, the girl washed herself and all her clothing and dishes before returning home. She was then considered ready for marriage (Penn, pp.33-4; Beatty, p.43; Brickell, p.49; Harrington, 1913, p.215). 868 881 [582]

Marriage

"When the Young Women are fit for Marriage, they wear something upon their Heads for an Advertisement, but so as their Faces are hardly to be seen..."(Penn, p.31). Other descriptions tell us that this covering was made of worked mats decorated with alternate rows of white and black wampum and was worn pulled down to the middle of the forehead (Smith, p.138; Zeisberger, 1910, p.77). Girls married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen; boys, at seventeen or eighteen (Penn, p.31). According to Zeisberger, the Delaware had the tradition that individuals must always marry outside the local group, but no seventeenth century writer has commented on this point (Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). 582 [292]

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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will take good care of it, and burn Indian tobacco for it from time to time. With the mask is kept a coat and leggings of bear-skin to represent the being's hairy body, a peculiar rattle of turtleshell (fig. 2), a stick, and a bag made of bear-skin, all used by the man selected to impersonate Mĭsinghâli'kŭn at the various ceremonies when he is supposed to appear, and which will be described later. To the back of the mask is fastened the skin of the bear's head, which effectually conceals the head and neck of the impersonator (pl. 11), while the bear's ears, projecting, add to the uncanny effect.

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If any Lenape had a child who was weak, sickly, or disobedient, he would send word to the keeper of the mask that he wanted Mĭsinghâli'kŭn to "attend his child." It is said that it did not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of the child, so that thenceforth it would be strong and well, and would obey on the instant when asked to do anything. This effect was probably strengthened by

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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the mother saying, "If you don't behave, MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ will carry you off in a bag full of snakes!" This seems to be the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask among the Unami. They also say that when the keeper burns tobacco for MIsinghâli'kŭn and asks for good luck in hunting, "it turns out that way every time;" and if anyone has lost either horses or cattle, whether by straying away or through theft, he can go to the keeper of the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ with some tobacco and recover them. All he has to do is to explain his errand to the keeper, who in turn informs MIsinghâli'kŭn that they want him to look for these particular animals. The loser then goes home, and in a few days the missing stock return, driven back by this mysterious being. If they were tied or hobbled, it is said that the MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ appears to them and so frightens them that they break loose and come home. MIsinghâli'kŭn has a special ceremony, held in the spring, and also participates in the Annual Ceremony at the Big House. This MIsi'ng$^{w^t}$ is also

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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he comes to no harm. At each house the impersonator dismounts and enters, making known his errand by signs, but saying only "*Ho^{n}-ho^{n}-ho^{n}*," and everywhere they give him tobacco, which he puts in his sack. At this time the people frighten disobedient children with the threat that, unless they behave, the Mĭsi'ng^{w} will carry them away in a sack full of snakes.

Preparations.—The dance-ground customarily used for this purpose has meanwhile been put in order, a cleared place in the woods selected for good shade and pleasant surroundings, and the logs which serve as seats arranged to form the rectangle within which the dance takes place. A great pot of hominy is also prepared; this constitutes the main dish of the feast.

The Ceremony.—When the people have gathered on the night appointed, and the impersonator has returned from the bushes where he retired to dress, wearing the mask and bearskin suit (pl. II), the speaker addresses the people and relates the origin of the dance, then addressing the Mĭsi'ng^{w}, says, "Take care of us

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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house or tent the man of the house usually gives him a piece of tobacco, which the Messingq smells and puts in his big pouch, after which he turns around and kicks back toward the giver which means 'thank you,' and departs. He never thinks of climbing a fence, but jumps over it every time that one is in his way. The Devil dance is what the white men call it, but the Delawares call it the Messingq, or 'solid face' dance. The Messingq does not represent an evil spirit, but is always considered a peacemaker. I suppose that it is from his hideous appearance that white men call him the devil."

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF MISI'NG^{w}

The MIsi'ng^{w} the Indians claim, "takes care of the children," as well as of the deer, for as before related if any Delaware has a child who is weak, sickly. or disobedient, he sends for the MIsi'ng^{w} and asks him to "attend to" his child, On his arrival it does not take the impersonator long to frighten the weakness, sickness, or laziness out of such children, so that "afterward they are well and strong, and whenever they are told to do a thing, they lose no time in obeying." This is the only trace of the doctoring function of the mask found among the Unami.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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The Mask Dance is given in the fall of the year because all vegetation is matured at that time, also the hunting season opens with Indians when the leaves of the forest have begun to turn red showing the first tinges of autumn. Deer hides are then said to be thickening and the fur becoming good.

The Delaware Mask Dance is given, sometimes because someone has had a "scare," or may have been attacked by some strange malady, or a sick spell, imagining that he has seen a mask and become frightened. Sometimes mask owners fail by neglect to give the usual annual Mask Ceremony, or again in case of death they fail to transfer the ownership of the mask to some member of the family or next closest of kin, so the strange things are brought about.

The Delaware Indians use the entire mask which has a cape attached to it, the cape hanging over the coat, thus the man wearing the mask must hold his fingers in the mouth of the mask while moving about or dancing because the mask is simply resting on the head and the large wooden face is heavy and will jolt on the head; now the mask wearer must carry his cane and the snapping turtle rattle in his right hand together until he stops. A shoulder strap about two inches wide is thrown over the shoulder with a small saddle bag attached and used to put chewing tobacco in, which is given to the mask-man or wearer. In order to keep children from making so much unnecessary noise, they are told that the bag (*pɔnda''sɔnakan*) contains snakes.

An old and historic specimen of the wooden mask used in recent years by the Delawares of the Cherokee band, Oklahoma, having found its way, surreptitiously as the Indians claim, into the cases of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, has been described by Harrington and myself. It is 14.5 inches in length the right half being painted red, the left half black. The eye-holes were small apertures perforated in tin plates to permit vision. It is not necessary to repeat here what has already been said of the object (Speck, "Big House Ceremony," pp. 39–44, 93).[1]

[1] Sooner or later it will become the task of a student to examine the correspondences between Delaware and Iroquois mask traits among which stand forth the common peculiarities of mask construction in both series, the use of

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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MISCELLANEOUS RITES

The Scratching Rite for Warriors

In the nature of an ordeal by which the man of strength showed his courage when preparing to go to war or to enter one of the physical contests, we learn that he scratched himself on the body. In the same operation he purified himself. Tradition is vague on the details, but in this rite we meet with one that is of apparently southern origin in view of its almost universal observance among the Indians of the southeastern or Gulf area. Our information does not permit of much discussion of the spiritual or physical qualities of this heroic practice, therefore it will have to stand simply as an occurrence to be noted in the study of distribution of the scratching rite as one of therapeusis and purification. It is called *le'həli·k'ci·'k·an*, "scratching."

The rite is mentioned by Lindeström as practiced medicinally by the Delawares in the middle of the seventeenth century for the purpose of relieving pain and fatigue after a strenuous journey, and also as a means of preventing them before one.[1] A piece of flint was the scarifying agent. *Wi·tapano'xwe* had heard that a fish bone had also been used, but there were no particulars given as to how the instrument was constructed.[2]

In 1756 John McCullough was held captive by the Delawares and adopted by them. During his captivity he observed many customs of importance. Among them he writes of being subjected to a punishment intended for mischievous boys in which the miscreant was scratched on the thighs and legs with the bill of a gar-fish wrapped in a thin rag so that the teeth projected through. Sometimes, he added, if punishment were merited a second or third time, the corrector would score the boys from the top of the shoulder down to the wrists and again from each shoulder to the hip, forming a

[1] Lindeström, *op. cit.*, 344. (Ed. A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1925.)
[2] Bone scarifiers are known to the Cherokee and Catawba of the Carolinas.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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cross on the back. We can see in this rite a parallel to the information we already have concerning the practice of scratching the body with the teeth of some kind of fish.[1]

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THE SCRATCHING CEREMONY

yu'kwe nda'yaxkənu't·əmən e·'hele·k lɔ'mwe
Now I am relating how those performances long ago

ə'nda e·lowę'ni·k' do·"p·ali·n ni·kani·'xiŋgi·k' i·la·'ɔk'
when it was called scouting. The leading warriors

maeŋge·'yɔk' a'kənu't·as·u e·'lowenŋ pənahɔ'k·i·en
called together a council they talked about what is called exploring

ci·'takɔ do·"p·ali·n ɔk a'kəni·ma'n ski·no'wak'
or scouting and they talked to young men

kę'ci·ləs·i·'tci·k kɛ'ko e·hel·a'ci·mwi·'"ti·t'
those who "great meę" are in something who had had visions in dreams

wuska'ti·la'ɔk hi·ta'n·dəl·a·n ɔk wu'ndji· ki·ki·'naməɑ
the young warriors are trained and so are acquainted with

we·'mi· yu'ta li·' te·'kəne. wa'ni· ni·kani·'xiŋ ɔk
all this the wilderness. The leader and

məte·'inowak kələ'n·əmuk' i·laopa's·i·'kən ne·'sko
the medicine men "doctors" carry with them warrior's medicine before

a'ləm'ska'ti·t' i·la'o'keyɔk haŋg tamseha'ŋg. wu'ska'-
they go off They have a war dance said sometimes. The young

ti·la'ɔk' wəli·'hil·i·k'cə'mən awe·'n hɔ'k·ae wu'ndji
warriors scratch themselves a person's body that is why

we·'i·tci·lae'ŋge·n təli·' te'pi·lə'ɔ·i·n a'hi· xahe'len·a'u'ki·
to convince that they are able very many are

ha't·e· ehela'ehɔs·i·'t·up' wa'ni· lən·a'p·e. ə'n·da
they had the performances tho Delawares. When

we'ndja'ki·t' təli·' do·"pali·n ci·'takɔ i·la'o'k·an
they are prepared to scout or have war dance

ɔk cəmu'tc' lɔ'mwe ə'n·da pa'sa"həmaŋg
and also long time ago when they played Indian football

a'hi· təmi·'ki· awe·'n wəli·'hil·i·k'can hɔ'k·ayɔ
very ofttimes anyone scratch himself [until bleeds] on body

[1] Archibald Loudon, "A Collection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of the Outrages Committed by Indians in the Wars with the White People." 2 vols., Carlisle, 1808, reprinted 1888, containing Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, written by himself, 1776, pp. 269–70. See also for Shawnee

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which they were members. At a very early age children were given as
868 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life.
867 These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the instruction given to children was by example and explanation incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that the training of youths among the Indians was completed while they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware
352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, 262
wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. 867 Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip [36] to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, [29] breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods —stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
866 Wind cold, water warm, give you strength, get out look like something pinched you. Go to house, burn cedar, refresh you.
[863] That's your health your body, no disease. If you are not clean any little thing can catch you.

Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the
[864] old folks. I must not prowl around. Maybe another clan, maybe same clan but not folks. The old folks have rules, they talk to girl's folks. Her folks talk to her about me. Her folks like mine, mine like hers. Give her folks something, goods, blankets, etc. Big feast, invite people. Wedding—preacher talk to me and her. Tell us we must talk over things—where one of us wants to go, what to do, etc. Then maybe it's all right. Wife in family way must not go (six months or so after marriage) to see sick people, death or butchering. Any good things all right. Anything wrong or unnatural might affect child.

105. Corporeal punishment for children

● 861 Zeisberger says in one place that children were not punished, but reproved for mischief with gentle words; in another that water was thrown in their faces as punishment.

John Johnston—(No restraint or punishment) except threatening and denying them food for a certain time.

Captain Chipps—The domestic government of children is wild. Disobedience is punished severely by flogging—other offenses are considered lighter.

W. L.—Corporeal punishment was whipping but also throwing water in their faces. Think a lot of water and would pray to it (to wash child clean?) while throwing it in child's face.

106. Age at which childhood ceases

884 John Johnston—When they are considered capable of providing for themselves.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

eastern Fence Lizard (Sceloporus undulatus), at the same time recording the folk-belief from Wi·tapano'xwe that the puny creature is thought by some to be capable of entering the mouth of a person, biting his heart and causing death. 539X 754 776 825

sects, for example, the spider,[1] and also the scorpion,[2] and these birds; the screech owl and horned-owl[3] and also the chicken-killer,[4] the red-tailed hawk.[5]

[1] No specific race of arachnid is indicated by this general term, which means something repulsive.

[2] Literally "big with many legs."

[3] Onomatopoetic names. So the cry of the birds sounds to Delaware ears. Ko'kos in some form is general in eastern Algonkian for the Great Horned Owl (Bubo virginianus).

[4] Buteo borealis.

[5] The above baneful creatures represent the agencies used by evil conjurers. The agent, animal or otherwise, used by the conjuror, is called wani pəyɔ'Lak "the being whose power I possess and control." This is regarded by the informant as the analogue to the term baohl'gan used commonly throughout the northern Algonkian family as the messenger or agent of the conjuror. (cf. Penobscot Shamanism, F. G. Speck, Mem. Amer. Anth. Assn. Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920) where a summary of pertinent information for the northeast is given.

Now what is called the state of being a clean, pure child is the source of a person acquiring something as his spiritual vision. Anciently there the children, little boys, it is said, were given a bow and taught how to make arrows. Before daylight they obliged him to go in swimming.[1] Now after, when he appears to be older, far off into the wilds he is driven. "Now must you hunt birds!" Food is not eaten until he kills something. And in the evening as well, the person sleeps without being fed, because, it is said, a child lying exposed in a pitiful state would cause some occasional spirit-force to have pity on him when passing by visiting all the children in the world. Because here from the sunrise direction, or from up above and sometimes from the northern direction or the south, are the directions whence they are visited by spirit-forces. On account of this it is called pitiful abuse.[2] 539X 861 787

Long ago it was called correction. Some persons when sick in any way, persons in perplexity and distress, would accordingly experience a dream-vision of something, or some would acquire a revelation vision.

It is that which one is blessed, whence one becomes useful[3] or becomes a healer or the reciter of a vision in the Big House.

[1] This drastic custom intended not only to harden but to purify youths. The immersion daily in pure running water is part of the ceremonial bringing-up reported in a number of eastern peoples besides the Delawares.

[2] Here we meet with an important religious phenomena,—ritual abuse to secure a more intense spiritual blessing. The concept has been discussed in the beginning of the study.

[3] Meaning that one who has obtained a spiritual blessing or inspiration is under moral obligation by Delaware ethical standards to devote his gift toward the alleviation of human misery, by healing the sick, by setting the example of purity and unselfishness to others.

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155 Zeisberger.[5] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[341] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

● 861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

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581 Divorce and family instability were
586 common, many children were raised by mother surrogates. "Owing to instability of the family relationship, children are
581 often neglected."[9] The father was absent, hunting, fishing, fighting, trading, or
855 attending treaties during most of the year; what discipline there was fell to the hand of the mother, who was considered to
796 "own" the children.[10] During one of the annual calendar of ceremonies, young
861 children were chased by a man dressed in a bear-skin, who threatened to punish them for misdeeds (of which the parents kept him informed from year to year) by carrying them away in a bag full of snakes.[11]
[776] This "Mask Spirit" was considered to be the "Guardian of the Game" and also promoted the fertility of the corn; in other words, was the symbol of the food pro-
855 vider.[12] The boys were able to escape from the mother's supervision as soon as they were able to get about to play at hunting and fighting; but the girls were kept around
754 the house to help the mother at work.[13] When a child died, an old woman was often accused of having bewitched it.[14]

155 It would seem that the mother-figure
593 remained a symbol of possible delights which could not be secured on demand, a symbol of diffused frustration, of withheld benefits and hidden hostility, to the Delaware, and the source of his generalized, if inhibited, aggressiveness; and that the father-figure stood on the horizon, so to speak, as a powerful, friendly being, but one too remote and too aloof to be depended upon.

Emotional Attachments in Maturity

584 The ideal in marriage was for a young man to fall in love with a girl. His family would present his suit; she would accept
[585] him by accepting the presents he sent, and come to live with him; and they would live happily and faithfully ever after. The

9. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 21.
10. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 14.
11. Harrington, 1938, pp. 52-53, 113.
12. Ibid.; Harrington, 1921.
13. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 16.
14. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 128.

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156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

•861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of
[462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women
562 were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

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776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom described the Delawares as "mistrustful,"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1778, pp. 115-116.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
50 Ibid.

855 receiving from their mothers adequate physical care, especially in early infancy, but that the child did not receive much of what we would call "affection" or "love" and, from time to time was neglected and subjected to petty meanness. The father had only intermittent contact with the mother-child nexus, and to the child appeared as a distant potentially loving (and perhaps also potentially threatening), but practically [861] remote figure. Neither parent made use of systematic punishment as an educative technique. The male child grew up into an adult who saw women both as 86 romantic ideals and as untrustworthy 562 and malicious,, potentially witches, while men were regarded as potential comrades, toward whom nevertheless highly polite, circumspect behavior was required in order to avoid giving offense. Women grew up to be discreet but covertly malicious wives and mothers. No individual of either sex was conceived as [571] the possessor of unquestioned authority, and social relations hence were very individualistic and fissionable. There is 155 evidence to suggest that the individual remained somewhat fixed, on an unconscious level, to infantile patterns of "oral" reaction, of a dependent, aggressively demanding nature, although these dependency patterns were masked by a superficial individualism and self-sufficiency, and by careful inhibition of any openly aggressive behavior. The conflict between the dependent and aggressive impulses, on the one hand, and the conscientious efforts to be self-sufficient and unaggressive, on the other, was partially resolved by the guardian spirit complex, a technique of personality integration which allowed the adolescent to collect his dependency wishes and displace them onto the fantasy figure of an all-powerful parent. Further relief was afforded by various institutionalized ritual or semi-ritual institutions, such as warfare, feasting, and religion. Liquor, however, was a severe threat to the integrity of the society, since it allowed repressed and sublimated im-